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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
VOLUME XXXVIII JULY, 1945 NUMBER 3

IN HISTORY OR BEYOND HISTORY

C. C. McCOWN
PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

I. PRESENT CONFUSIONS

ANY wise psychologist will insist that a period of personal depression is not an appropriate time for meditation on the meaning of life. Yet it is such times that most individuals select. A period of social depression, retrogression, and catastrophe is hardly opportune for the deliberate and detached examination of the meaning of history. Yet it is in "times of trouble" that men seem most inclined to somber meditation on the subject. Numerous current publications testify that the relationship of Christianity and its doctrine of revelation to history is one of the most serious problems that the present generation of theologians has to face. Paul Tillich has characterized history as *the* problem of our age.

The answers which are being given to the question are typical of a time of disturbance. In periods of political, economic, and social confusion and of seeming moral deterioration, eschatology always lifts its demonic face to disturb theology and religion, while pietistic otherworldliness turns its eyes toward heaven to escape the distasteful sight. The present era is no exception. When men await the knell of doom with every setting sun, they naturally long for

> " . . . . the Infinite Morning
> Of a day without a tomorrow."

When civilization seems to be crashing into chaos, they inevitably look to a superhuman power and a perfect other world for the solution of their hopeless problems and the righting of their unendurable wrongs.

The question to be discussed here is the current recrudescence of eschatology and otherworldliness as a solution of the problem

of history, the idea that, as the phrase runs, the meaning an end of history are to be sought beyond history. For two dec ades or more "eschatology," used in various senses, has hel the center of the stage, especially on the European continen and among those elsewhere who are affected by Continenta theology. The nineteenth century social and evolutionary in terpretation of the coming of the reign of God, as once espouse by Harnack, Herrmann, Rauschenbusch, Shailer Mathews, an many more, is frankly, if not scornfully, abandoned for on which is transcendent and spiritual, or miraculous, catastrophic and spectacular, or all combined. There is a complete antithes between the conception of history held by representatives c dialectical theology and Neo-Orthodoxy and that exhibite in the discussion of such scholars as Dilthey, Rickert, Troeltsch J. B. Bury, H. G. Wood, and Dr. Hilda Oakley. History, so is said, can be understood and values in it discovered only c chiefly either in a suprahistorical realm or in a suprahistoric end, both of which have no organic relation to the historic process.

II. Divergent Views as to History and Eschatology

The current reaction against historism, that is against th historical point of view, is exhibited at its worst in the Barthia movement, at its best in some of the papers in the Oxford Co ference Book on The Kingdom of God and History and Reinhold Niebuhr's Gifford Lectures on The Nature an Destiny of Man. Among the many authors who discuss th subject, Barth, Brunner, and Berdyaev are the most famou and the most incoherent.

Mr. H. G. Wood summarizes the opinions of the various co tributors to the Oxford Conference symposium in words whi are general and perhaps intentionally ambiguous: "Since valu belong to (the) eternal and transcendent realm of God, histo is not self-explanatory. History is shot through with supe history, with the manifestation of the eternal in the midst time." [1] One can heartily agree with his statement that t

[1] The Kingdom of God and History (Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Co., 1938), p

alues for which men strive in history are real and of tremen-ous significance. But is it true that they belong, not to history, ut to the realm of the eternal and transcendent and are in-roduced into human existence from without?

Four types of view appear among the writers mentioned. ne is philosophical and not flatly antihistorical. Mr. Wood's ecessarily brief summary hardly does justice to the views of illich and Lyman as presented in the Oxford Conference Book. t cannot be taken as fully representative of his own more dequate interpretation of history in his Christianity and the Nature of History (1934). All of the three take account of ecent currents of thought. Lyman and Wood speak the lan-uage of modern philosophy. They do not interlard their discus-ions with ancient and modern theological shibboleths. They gree that the meaning of history can be discovered only par-ially in history and in this world, because the transcendent, hough entering history, is essentially suprahistorical and can ever be fully realized in the finite world. However, social rogress through human agency is possible and realizes in part he values implied in the Christian conception of the reign of od. The interpretation to be maintained in this essay differs rom these philosophical views in arguing that the meanings f history develop in history and are to be discovered in the istorical process.

The mystical view, which is essentially that of conservative beralism, was represented in the Oxford Conference volume y Edwyn Bevan and Charles Harold Dodd. They allow for a artial realization of the kingdom of God on earth, but with mphasis on the "life that is hid with Christ in God" and its ull realization in another world. Dodd's "realized eschatol-gy" signifies a complete reversal of the views of his predecessor n Cambridge, Francis Crawford Burkitt, and of the tendencies hich have predominated in New Testament criticism for half century. Although combining up-to-date New Testament riticism and Barthian phraseology, Dodd represents essentially he common belief of nonadventist Christians at the end of the ineteenth century: the kingdom of God is a spiritual state ithin the believer which leads him to do good and to make

social reforms. There is no future "coming of the Kingdom." Jesus' ministry, death, and resurrection were the end act. With him the Ultimate, the Absolute entered into history. Under the influence of the "crisis theology," Dodd denies any evolution of society toward a Christian goal and sees in history only a series of crises in which God meets man. Man meets his Judge in history, as the Neo-Orthodox insist.

This is no new doctrine, but one that has long been preached by antimillenarians, beginning with the fourth Gospel. What is unique about it is the attempt of a supposedly critical scholar to prove that it was Jesus' view of history and the "last things." Such views as Dodd's would not be methodologically objectionable if they were frankly presented as reinterpretations of ancient eschatology in modern terms. But to have a thoroughly Johannine version of the kingdom of God and the future phrased in modern theological terms and presented as the actual views of Jesus (or of Paul) is astonishing, to use a mild epithet. Dodd not only incontinently modernizes Jesus, but also flouts all of the generally accepted rules of exegesis.

Fundamentalist orthodoxy was represented in the Oxford Conference Book by the Lutheran professor, Hans Dietrich Wendland, and the Catholic layman, Christopher Dawson; at Madras by a group of German delegates. With some differences of detail they hold that the world is in the hands of the devil and is rapidly becoming worse. It can never become the kingdom of God. The church is not called upon, and, indeed, is not able, to counteract the powers of evil. In Wendland's words, "'The more 'Christian' the world, the more secular the church." Only when Christ appears for the final Judgment can sin be overcome. Only then, in an entirely different world, will God's reign begin.

Such a view, based upon a literalistic interpretation of the Scriptures and abhorrent alike to modern scientific thought and biblical exegesis, need only be stated. Nineteen hundred years of history have proved it as completely mistaken as it was once fully believed. Not only so, but all that has recently been learned of God and the universe renders such a belief childish and absurd.

The views of Neo-Orthodoxy may be taken from Barth, Brunner, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Berdyaev verges towards them. They use the language of Orthodoxy, but with new and unorthodox meanings. There is great emphasis on the transcendence of God. Truth is entirely suprahistorical. The revelation in Christ discloses that the full meaning of history is to be discovered only beyond history.

Niebuhr, who may be taken as representing Neo-Orthodoxy at its best, makes one distinction of the greatest importance, between life (that of the individual, I suppose) and history. But he proceeds to treat the two as if the end, or fulfillment, of the one must coincide with that of the other. Niebuhr, like Barth, Brunner, and their followers, does not take the eschatology of the apocalypses literally, but allegorically, or symbolically. However, in spite of his preoccupation with present ethical problems, he fixes his gaze chiefly on eternity, rather than on history.

III. Common Elements

Certain features characterize both Orthodox and Neo-Orthodox eschatological views, but particularly the Neo-Orthodox conception of the problem. (1) Their proponents, like the millenarians, are pessimistic of human achievements and implicitly or explicitly deny the doctrine of progress. (2) Judged by their phraseology, they do so, not because of a reasoned survey of history, ancient and modern, but partly because they are overwhelmed by the world's present distress, and partly because they rely upon a supposedly biblical doctrine of the total depravity of mankind (more or less rigidly conceived) and the essential evil of the world; to put it in their own language, because of the total "otherness" of God. Apparently the myth of the Creation and the Fall is still normative, or at least dominant, in the "anthropology" of all Orthodox and Neo-Orthodox theologians. (3) The language used indicates thorough familiarity with theology, but much less concern with history. History is judged and defined from a purely dogmatic point of view, not as a result of a study of historical facts, processes, and experience. Brunner explicitly says, what

the rest appear to believe, that a Christian philosophy of history must be based on a priori principles. (4) Little or no attention is paid to modern natural science, to philosophy, and to biblical criticism. The nature of history as such is not considered. Their discussions and conclusions move in the prescientific realm of medieval Catholic and early Protestant dogmatism.

Certain traits of temper and method characterize these views. It is of prime significance to note that Neo-Orthodoxy is essentially a product of the disillusionment and frustration which followed the first world war and the ill-conceived and ill-conducted peace. It represents essentially a European psychosis. It received stimulus from a reaction against the negative results of Gospel criticism and fell back upon dogmatic obscurantism and its great ally, misinterpretation of the Scriptures. It revived the worst elements in old Lutheran and Calvinist dogmatism.

Neo-Orthodoxy professes allegiance to historical criticism, but, at its worst, it too often depends upon a vociferous mouthing of old creeds and a fertile manufacture of new clichés which sound orthodox. As Rudolf Otto said to me shortly before his death, it puts entirely new meanings into the old phrases which it glibly repeats, in complete contradiction of its professed critical principles. Its use of eschatology is thus quite consistent with its common practice. It is in good part simply the unctuous chanting of "that blessed word Mesopotamia."

It is equally noteworthy that Neo-Orthodoxy, with its use of eschatology, is the product of the theological lecture room and not of the Old or New Testament seminar. For example, Barth's Romans is theology, not exegesis; it is Barth, not Paul. Men who have studied the eschatology and apocalypses of the ancients, from their remote beginnings in Egypt and Babylonia[2] down to the appearance of the new "heaven-and-hell" type in the Apocalypse of Peter, have not so easily found the answers to their religious problems in "that comfortable word escha-

[2] See McCown, "Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature," Harvard Theological Review, XVIII (1925), pp. 357–411; The Genesis of the Social Gospel, New York, 1929.

ology." Not that no scholars in the biblical field became followers of Barth. Bultmann may be cited, although he is far from typical Barthianism. However, at the *Alttestamentertagung* in Göttingen in September, 1935, I could find but one Barthian, and he was a British Calvinist. Certainly it is true that few leading Old or New Testament scholars in the well-known theological faculties of Germany, Great Britain, France, or America have espoused Neo-Orthodoxy or have used ancient eschatology as the theologians mentioned above have essayed to do.

Neo-Orthodoxy suffers from a fault which is all too common among historians and literary critics: the demand for "consistency," usually judged by modern standards, in ancient writers and thinkers. C. H. Dodd attempts "to find in the teachings of Jesus the unity and consistency which it must have possessed." [3] That demand is as inconsistent with critical method as it would be ridiculous to expect the ancient to use the metric system or the Christian era. Such logical ruthlessness is entirely wanting in reason. Accurate discrimination and keen analysis are indispensable in the modern critic. An ancient writer should be fairly consistent with his own times, but not necessarily with himself. It is useful, often indispensable, to isolate one factor in order to study it by itself. But the other factors and the associated ideas must be fully considered before final conclusions are approached. So-called "logical consistency," undue simplification and "clarity," the demand for positive affirmations and for unqualified conclusions are extremely misleading.[4] Liberalism, both in its theology and its scholarship, tended towards an unhealthy indifferentism. Dogmatism is not its cure. With Christian devotion the leaders of Neo-Orthodoxy have combined such oversimplification of the problems which are involved and overstatement of the results which they have reached as to render their suggested solutions of the problems of history and theology misleading and dangerous, because false.

[3] C. H. Dodd, Parables of the Kingdom (New York: Scribners, 1936), p. 109.

[4] On the "either-or fallacy" and the "fallacies of antithesis, abstraction, and misplaced concreteness" see the writer's remarks in the Journal of Religion, XVI (1936), pp. 31 ff.

As should already be sufficiently clear, the thesis of this paper is that what may be called the "eschatological" theory of history is inadmissible. It puts the end of history beyond history and finds the meaning of history only in another world. It is the product of outworn and untrue theological dogmatism which is contrary to the basic religious ideas in the teachings of Jesus. It is supported by an uncritical and indefensible use of the Scriptures. It is inconsistent with what can now be known about the universe, mankind, and history. It hampers Christian progress. Some of the fundamental reasons for this judgment deserve further development.

IV. False Assumptions and Methods

The conceptions of eschatology and history under discussion, with certain honorable exceptions, exhibit two related sources of error resulting from faulty logic. They are magnificent examples of the "fallacy of the perfect dictionary" and the "fallacy of uniform cerebration." Apparently the writers in question take it for granted that "words mean what they say" and that everyone agrees as to what they mean.

The invention of speech released man from the bondage of his animal origin and made progress possible. But the inadequacy of language, particularly in the discussion of ideas, is the chief barrier to advance. In philosophy and theology another intimately related obstacle appears. Doubtless because of the incomparable value of the past to the present, the complete dependence of the present upon the past, an inveterate tendency to cling to ancient phrases and ideas continually obscures meaning and confuses logic.

Alfred North Whitehead has repeatedly adverted to the materialization of ghosts of the past in philosophical discussions. All that he has said applies a fortiori to theological disputation. The "fallacy of the perfect dictionary," based upon the belief that there are no new ideas under the sun and that all fundamental conceptions have already been defined, treats single words and phrases as adequately and clearly expressing all the ideas necessary to describe human experience. It hardly

eed be said that this is an entirely false assumption, not only ecause language constantly changes, but also because progres- ve alteration in the mental climate of the world has rendered ie systematic thought of ancient writers practically worthless. he whole literature of western culture is "soaked in classical nd renaissance thinking." It is still based upon ideas regard- ig theological, philosophical, and scientific subjects which, ithin the last hundred years, have been totally discarded. Whitehead remarks that the retention of fragments of New- onian concepts in the present-day reconstruction of physics educes modern physics to "a mystic chant over an unintel- gible universe." The detached insights of ancient writers are ften priceless. Their observations of human nature exhibit ncanny wisdom, by which all subsequent ages have profited. But that should not overawe and deceive the modern. Their cience, their cosmology, and their conceptions of history are ased upon such inadequate knowledge of the universe and of he past that their philosophy and theology are entirely isleading.[5]

If the profound suggestions scattered through Plato's Dia- ogues are "half smothered by the archaic misconceptions of he age in which he lived," [6] how much more dangerous are the cientific and philosophical notions which are implicit in the iblical and patristic writings. Plato's myth of the shadows on he cave wall appeals to every person who struggles to clarify is own hazy conceptions of the universe and life. The biblical nyth of the Fall is remarkably apt in portraying the psychology f temptation. But the myth of the cave is a poor foundation or modern epistemology. The myth of the Fall can only con- use any attempt to construct a consistent theology or a reason- ble philosophy. Yet Neo-Orthodoxy tries to combine an ac- eptance of evolution with a revival of the doctrine of the Fall.

[5] Cf. A. N. Whitehead, Modes of Thought (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), p. 185, 235 f.; Science and the Modern World (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p. 106 f.; Adventures of Ideas (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p. 153; in P. A. Schilpp, ed., The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1941), p. 688; Process and Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 6 ff., 17 ff.

[6] Whitehead, Modes of Thought, p. 3.

Reinhold Niebuhr admits, in roundabout terms, that there never could have been a state of primitive innocency, yet he uses the doctrine of the Fall in his philosophy of history.[7] This is one point at which the distinction between history and the life of the individual must be clearly maintained. Neither the Old Testament myth nor Paul's ingenious doctrine of the Second Adam have any meaning within the frame of reference of modern philosophy. They have no relation to history. Ancient theosophy with its hypostatization of "eternal ideas" merely confuses modern theology. There are far better means of displaying the reality of sin and the value of the Christian conception of salvation.

Hebrew-Christian eschatology, aside from its ethical message, is equally irrelevant to modern philosophy and theology. It is based upon a belief in the instantaneous creation by divine fiat of a Ptolemaic universe and in a similar sudden and miraculous end of the physical universe, or at least of "this age" and its history, by an act of God. Both the word and the idea are utterly foreign to modern thinking. Any attempt, such as C. H. Dodd makes, to reinterpret *eschaton* so as to give it a philosophical reference to the Ultimate and the Absolute is contrary to the very genius of the term. Aristotle used it of the lowest term in a classification, of the "individual," or "particular," not of the highest. It often means lowest, meanest, worst; rarely highest. Possibly one reason for its appeal to apocalyptists was just this, that it rarely or never meant the best, but the most extreme, the worst. If *acharōn* was the Hebrew-Aramaic word used, the same remarks apply with even greater emphasis.

The Barthians and Neo-Orthodox ring the changes on eschatology, the "interim," and the "end" of history, both temporally and teleologically considered, as if such words had any meaning, either philosophical or religious, for today. For the most part they use their terms without definition and without consideration of the scientific and philosophical problems involved. They attempt to mask their own inconsistency and want of thought by appealing to a necessary irrationality,

[7] Nature and Destiny of Man, II, p. 95.

manly considered, of the divine wisdom. It is a subtle
atagem, doubtless older than Job, and Paul, and Tertullian,
t grown none the more persuasive with age. Rather it is a
eap evasion of argument, a specious defense of dogmatic
phistry. Such language is as effective in the search for truth
it would be to dress in the mask, the feathered headdress,
e paint, and the loincloth of the shaman and perform a ritual
nce in the pulpit for the edification of a twentieth century
ngregation. It is equally futile to fly to the other extreme and
invent new terms and new uses of old terms in the fond illu-
on that more half-understood words will solve all scientific,
ilsophical, and theological problems.

Other words that are constantly bandied about in company
ith eschatology, with noticeable lack of consideration for their
eaning, are "absolute," "ultimate," and "transcendent."
y definition it is absurd for anyone to talk about that which
transcends" his knowledge. Man knows nothing of absolutes,
timate truth, or the "end (termination) of history." How
n anyone know that of which none has had experience? It
ust be continually repeated that the most presumptuous of
l sins against God is to pretend to know more about him and
is ways than he has given us to know.

Does not revelation give the final, the absolute truth? The
ogmatic claim to the possession of absolute truth by miracu-
us revelation is one of those "archaic misconceptions" in-
erited from ancient times which reduces modern theology to
a mystic chant over an unintelligible universe," a universe
hat is morally incoherent and intellectually incomprehensible.
rthodoxy, Neo-Orthodoxy, and other similar interpretations
f Christian beliefs move forever under the obscuring shadow
f an explicitly discarded but implicitly effective doctrine of
evelation and scripture inspiration. The use of allegorical and
symbolical" exegesis, like literalism, implies that all Christian
ruth must be found in the sacred writings, just as the Jews be-
eved in Jesus' day. Jesus implicitly but definitely rejected
hat view in his trenchant criticisms of the *lex talionis*, the Old
estament divorce laws, and the then current practices regard-
ng oaths. His "it hath been said of old time . . . but I say unto

you" emancipated the Christian from the worst of all religiou servitudes, the bondage, not merely to the letter, but to th content and intent of ancient law. It marked the most signif cant difference between Jew and Christian. The fourth Gospe two generations after his death reiterates that epoch-makin declaration of freedom when it makes Jesus say, "I have man things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now. Bu when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into a truth" (16.12 f.).

No doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures is trul Christian unless it recognizes that all of the Bible, New Testa ment as well as Old, is a revelation in "many parts and man forms" (Heb 1.1), none of them final and complete. God re veals *himself* to inner eyes that see; man must discover God' character and his ways of working from what God has done i nature and in history, above all in history. God sends down n truth ready made from the skies. Like the wealth in the moun tains man must find it by searching. Man's spiritual food doe not come down like the manna from heaven. He must delv for it and earn it by his heart's blood. History, that is huma experience, is his richest mine.

V. The Dilemma of the Prophets

Mistaken conclusions stem from false assumptions and false dilemma which the Hebrew prophets bequeathed to thei successors, the apocalyptists, and they to Christianity.[8] The are a group of those "archaic misconceptions" which hav more than half smothered the true ideas connected with them As fundamental and far-reaching sources of error, they deman particular attention.

Implicit in the eschatological scheme is the assumption tha righteousness has no value unless it receives special reward from God. The pre-exilic Hebrews, including the prophets believed that God's approval of good men must be manifeste in this life, since they knew of no other. The author of the Boo

[8] They have likewise misled evolutionary optimists and all idealists, including th "social gospel" movement. See further discussion below.

Job discovered this to be untrue. When the "day of Yah-h" did not dawn, Hebrew national experience discovered at nations, like men, did not receive their deserts. In despair man and the "present age," the Jewish apocalyptists, follow-g Mazdeism, discovered an easy formula which satisfied their ndamental faith in the righteousness of the universe. There ust be a "next age" to reward the nation and, since they had heaven, there must be a resurrection to reward good men.

No new age came. No divinely directed prince arose to en-rce God's will. Hammurabi had claimed to do so. A great ebrew optimist thought Cyrus was God's anointed. Later hn Hyrcanus was represented as prophet, priest, and king. one of them satisfied the demands of ideal justice. Instead overthrowing Beelzebul and seizing the throne of David, sus was nailed to the cross. The prophets' purely a priori rmulation of the problem of righteousness and justice in the orld rendered it infinitely more difficult, for they demanded solution which fitted their own narrow conception of God and istory. Reinhold Niebuhr is perfectly justified in maintaining hat the prophetic problem, which was essentially also the roblem of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Iranians, was soluble, even by messianism.

If, now, the prophetic problem is the problem of history, here is no solution. It was phrased as a leading question which osed an impossible dilemma. Neither the mystical nor the therworldly solution is a whit more satisfactory than those of he ancients. Rather, they are infinitely less so. Both are self-sh, individualistic, antisocial answers, for they relate them-elves in no logical way to present social wrongs. Both are vasions, not solutions. The one looks within, the other to eaven, in total disregard of what is happening to other people n the world. The individual's communion with God solves no ocial problems. "That other world, where our life is hid with Christ in God," whether it be in this age or the next, has no ausal or logical relation whatever with the problem of history. t is a concern only of the individual. If his conscience is prop-rly conditioned, a man's communion with God will affect his wn actions and through him it will affect society and history,

but such a mystical experience is a cause, not an effect, a motiv to individual action, entirely commendable in its results, bu not an "end of history." Even social service and reform, lik ancient Jewish almsgiving, may be merely means for securin God's approval — or self approval — and so for living in bliss ful communion with God and one's self now and for obtainin eternal happiness in heaven. Not Messianism, nor Marxism nor Evolution, nor any other demigod can solve the problem The solution is impossible because, in a world where alchem does not work, it demands an answer in gold coin, whereas th terms of the problem offer only iron and lead. Perfect righteous ness for either the individual or society is impossible on earth

To maintain that the meaning of history is to be discovere in a perfect world "beyond history" is only another way o saying that the answer is a surd. A problem in arithmetic can not be solved by introducing a factor which has no relation t the original problem. Accounts cannot be balanced by addin into the credit column enough figures to eliminate the red ink

This is not to deny the possibility of communion with God the existence of an other world, and the immortality of the soul There are many reasons for accepting such beliefs, but they ca have no organic connection with history. Life may be only partially fulfilled in history, as Niebuhr says. But why mus history give to life its final meaning or itself be counted value less? Complicated equations of higher degrees may have a series of answers, some of them irrational on the practical level The problem of human life may not be soluble in all of its as pects on the level of history, and yet history may have a fully satisfactory meaning within history. Closely connected as they are, life and history are not identical.

To expect perfection, not in this world but the next, is only a perversion of the partial correction of the prophetic error, which the Jewish apocalyptists borrowed from Mazdeism. The prophetic problem was the product of a narrow nationalism among the Hebrews, and of wishful, unrealistic thinking among all of the peoples that harbored it. It is a theological, not a historical problem, a problem that is also ethical, but utterly unrealistic, as stated, because of its perfectionism. History should

ardly be blamed for not solving a problem which is wrongly ated and involves irrational quantities.

The argument may be restated in more general and summary rms. In the theological discussions of eschatology and history there is a basic confusion of thought due to the use of nguage and conceptions which are no longer held to be valid ven by those who use them. Though treated as merely "symolic," they mislead the reader and often the theologian who epeats them. The cosmology and philosophy of history which re implied in ancient eschatological hopes have a very different alue from the ethical insights of the apocalyptists. The osmology and historism of Jewish and early Christian eschaology were based upon a frank creationism and a crude 'tolemaic astronomy. No glimmering idea of natural or psychological law may be imported into ancient conceptions of nan and the universe. Jewish-Christian eschatology was based pon a personalistic, or, better, an animistic, conception of ausation. The world was a battlefield between good and evil pirits, with men ranging themselves on one side or the other f the battle line. History was a record of the conflict, in which vil was continually victorious. The world was growing worse. But God was supreme and would eventually interfere miraculously to end the conflict and destroy all evil. This age would give place to the next. Since this age was under the control of he powers of evil, it was essentially bad, and the solution for ts problems could come only from without, from God himself, nd only beyond history, in the "next age" when God would eign. The problem of history and its solution were naturally stated so as to conform to the accepted cosmology. For the ancients the meaning of history, therefore, came eventually to be sought beyond history.

If progress is to be made in the discussion of history, its problems must be stated in current terms, in concepts which have meaning for contemporary thinking, not in the outworn and no-longer-intelligible language and thought forms of a bygone age. If positive, constructive conclusions are to be reached, the terms employed must be carefully defined. What now are the pertinent concepts and the appropriate terms which, prop-

erly defined and limited, can state the problem of history for the twentieth century?

VI. Definitions

The terms which have recurred most frequently in the discussions under consideration, apparently without due discrimination and definition, were "eschatology" and "history," its "meaning" and "value," and its "end." The ambiguity of the word "end" and of its Greek equivalent *telos*, with its derivative "teleology," is a source of misunderstanding and of evident defects in the theory that the end of history lies "beyond history." Does "end" mean "termination," or "purpose," or "climax"? To clear the mind of false impressions, it is first necessary to define the word "eschatology," which, in all of these discussions, is closely related to history and constantly repeated.

Eschatology, it must be remembered, had to do originally with the "last things" (*ta eschata*) which were to happen just before the "end," the conclusion, of "this age" and the beginning of the "next age." In the nature of the case, no one knew what was going to happen. All of the varied and contradictory predictions of prophets and apocalyptists, if honestly interpreted in the sense in which they were meant, proved entirely false. Even the grandiose attempt of John of Patmos to bring order, system, and a Christian conception of history out of the vast confusions of his predecessors produced only more profound misconceptions on the part of all the interpreters who have tried to take his predictions literally. The later extension of the term "eschatology" to cover life after death, with the mistaken translation of the word *aion*, "age," as "world," has only added immeasurably to the indescribable confusion. The more quickly the word "eschatology" drops out of theological terminology and comes to be confined to a factual description of ancient views which are no longer tenable and which make no contribution to our understanding of the universe and of God, the sooner progress will be made. The ancient beliefs had a moral core which must not be discounted or forgotten. They

ve social implications which are too easily thrown out with eir theological, philosophical, and cosmological errors. But eir ethical implications cannot excuse their total falsity in her areas.

This judgment regarding "eschatology" carries with it the lated word "end," if used in the sense of "termination." If, the ancients believed, history is merely a series of events edetermined, for some unfathomable purpose, by Fate or by od's will, then its termination will also come as willed by Fate God. Even if, as the Jews believed, history is intended to y men and prepare them for another world, its cessation has othing to do with its course, and its purpose is realized after s close. Such a conception of history makes it merely a factory igaged in placing multitudes of individuals on its mammoth sembly lines, some to be prepared for heaven, others for hell - vessels of honor or dishonor — as God may determine. On is hypothesis it is only the individual that matters; nothing ppens to society. The individual is the center of the purpose history. Its termination merely causes the cessation of oduction.

On any conception of history, the destruction of the earth or ie cessation of life on its surface through some cosmic catas- ophe can have no organic or logical relation to history. The rthquake that once destroyed San Francisco was quite un- lated to its previous history. If the peninsula had disappeared neath the Pacific, the result would not have been produced y history, not even if one could believe in a vengeful God who ished to make the city an example of his wrath. That would e an Old Testament interpretation of history, hardly suitable the New Testament or the modern idea of God, not to men- on the modern idea of history. At its best such a relation be- veen history and the physical catastrophe would not have been n historical, or in the historical sense, a causal, connection.

If, however, history be regarded as a process consisting of vents related one to another as effect to cause, whatever may ppen to the individual participants in its drama in some new nd unrelated state of existence, under different conditions, nd after the intervention of a physical termination of life on

earth, has only incidental relation to the process. Perhaps th players have learned something of the histrionic art, but is nc the drama of more importance than the individual players Anything added without relation to the past, any act of a *deu ex machina*, gives no meaning to what has gone before.

An apposite illustration of the point occurs in Whitehead' delightful "Autobiographical Notes." [9] He remarks that th little town of Sandwich, near which he had lived as a boy, ha become static because its harbor had silted up. It had bee recently revived by a golf course, which he thought a profana tion amid the relics of Romans, of Saxons, of Augustine, c medieval monks, and of Tudor and Stuart ships. "Golf seem a rather cheap ending to the story." Many versions of heave have been cheap endings to the story of mankind.

The most glorious and philosophically most satisfactory ver sion of heaven is not a logical climax, or end, to history, unles history produces it. History might be said to make hell; fe would claim that it produces heaven. History is a stream c human experience in social groups that are housed in a physica world. It is not a mere collection of individual lives. Th American-born Japanese or the American-born negro, by n legitimate extension of meaning, can be said to belong to Japa nese or African history. Their experiences do not come fro Japanese or African society. Their decisions affect the histor of the land of their origin no more than those of other citizen. Whatever happens in heaven cannot give meaning or value t history, the more so as we, who are seeking the meaning c history, know nothing of heaven. The pay the player receiv gives no value to his performance, let alone to the play.

The theory that the possibilities of life and history are to b fully realized in another world is only the recrudescence, in slightly sublimated form, of the old demand that the righteou shall be paid for being good, that history has no satisfactor meaning unless the good receive their reward within histor God's education of the human race does nothing for mankin unless the school can end in a final mammoth prize givin

[9] P. A. Schilpp, ed., The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (Evanston ar Chicago, 1941), pp. 4 f.

orified by the distribution of rewards to the teacher's fa-
orites. The education is incidental; only the prizes are im-
ortant.

Entirely apart from our individual interest in what happens
o each of us, history is a living thing. It is a process as com-
icated as nature. Its kaleidoscopic changes are not produced
y the play of lights from some other universe, but are pro-
uced within itself. What is its "end" in the teleological, not
ie temporal, sense? What is the purpose of history? That is
ssentially the question as to the "meaning," or "value" of
istory.

The definition of "meaning" and "value" and the very util-
y of the terms are fundamental questions which have long
een among the most refractory problems of the philosopher.
What is "value"? What is "meaning" in the present context?
t its simplest, "value" attaches to something that has sup-
lied a want, that has met a need; "meaning" implies that a
uestion has been answered, an obscurity or confusion removed.
herefore meaning and value often coincide. To ask, then, for
ie value and meaning of anything is to ask what wants it
pplies and what questions it answers. What wants, then, can
istory satisfy? What questions can it answer? To seek to
nswer such questions is to discuss the nature of history.

It should not be necessary to say that a clear and definite
onception of the nature of history is a *sine qua non* in the dis-
ussion of any problem in history. Yet there are few matters
n which there is less clarity and precision of thought, perhaps
st because the apparently easy and simple problem is so
ifficult. It is a matter to which even Reinhold Niebuhr seems
o have given little attention.[10] None of the writers in the Ox-
rd Conference volume except Lyman and Tillich attempts to
arify the issue.

VII. The Modern View of History

It is axiomatic that our conceptions of the universe and of
istory must be different from those held by the prophets and

[10] He refers to none of the recent philosophical discussions except to that of Karl
annheim, so far as I have discovered.

apocalyptists, by Jesus and Paul. We do not hold that th processes of nature and history are activated by angels an demons. In the highly complicated physical world, the worl of chemistry, physics, and biology, as in the vast universe o the astronomer, law and order rule. If this were not a cosmos science would be impossible. The scientist can count on certai consequences appearing after certain antecedents. Likewise in spite of admittedly much-less-perfect knowledge of uni formities which prevail in the social sciences, the anthropologist the sociologist, and the historian speak of cause and effect an of social "laws." They do not speak of fate, or of providence or of demonic forces. There is much that is irrational, tha is unexplained or unexplainable, and, figuratively speaking miraculous, in both nature and history, but it is not due t some irruption from outside of the world in which we live.

At another point we breath a totally different atmospher from that of the Bible. Some three centuries of relatively fre study in the physical and biological fields have convinced al who are in a position to speak with the authority of knowledg that this world is continually in process of development. Amon the orderly processes of nature, evolution must be accepted o the basis of observed fact, although we cannot explain it phil osophically or even understand it. The universe, as we nov know it, is the product of forces which have been operating fo uncounted millions of years, during which out of chaos orde has emerged; out of matter, life; out of life, spirit. Out c inchoate, undifferentiated orders of existence more and mor highly complex and also simple and effective forms have de veloped. However complicated the process, however poorl understood as yet — that does not matter — evolution ha worked and it has gradually produced the cosmos which w know. Emergent evolution seems to be the best explanation or, should one say rather, the best description, of the fact that has as yet been presented.

Mankind, body, soul, and spirit, is a part and product of th total process, physical and social. Man partakes of the physi cal, material world. He has the closest kinship with the ani mals. As he looks at the world, he must not be ashamed to con

ss that he is of the earth, earthy. If he were not he could not
iarantee that his ideas correspond to the facts of nature which
e calls science. Man belongs to the earth, and, since he is
one of its bone and flesh of its flesh, he can rest assured that
ie scientifically tested "categories" of his mind are not the
roduct of unaided "reason" but correspond to the actual
ructure of the physical world. Since man is a historical being,
ie same argument applies a fortiori to the structure and values
iscovered by the historian. All alike are part of God's world
id ultimately his work.

Man also stands far above the physical and animal world.
e can build an entirely different world in his mind from any-
ning on earth. Although all of the elements of his thinking
ome from the world of actuality, his powers of combination
nd imagination allow him to formulate fantastic ideas of the
iaterial universe and his own life. The "science" of the
ncients was of just that character. Often recent science has
milarly been wrong, e.g. in the basic scientific assumption of
fty years ago that the atom was indivisible. But error is
ventually discovered and dispelled by man's powers of ob-
ervation, combination, inference, and imagination. It is the
ombination of earthly origin and emergent spirit rising sov-
reign over matter which makes science possible and which has
reated history.

Human societies are not mere herds, held together by the
regarious instinct and blind fear. If the history of man and
is social relationships is truly represented by the Buddhist
heel of life; if it is merely an endless chain in which no effect
as in it more than was in its cause; if man is only a machine
nanufacturing more machines of the same kind; then evolu-
on in the physical and biological world only mocks us. We
re manacled prisoners before whom our Jailor has spread a
ountiful feast while we starve. If the mechanistic theory
epresents history truly, it is merely the story of Tantalus and
isiphus repeated a million times.

If, again, on the Fundamentalist theory, we are set here by
od merely to be tested and prepared for another world; if all
f our efforts for the salvation of others result merely in snatch-

ing a few from the eternal burnings; if there is no society to be saved and no progress to be made; if the world is constantly growing worse; then life becomes no better than a treadmill and night and eternal sleep are the highest boons that God could offer man. Then we can only believe that God exhausted his creative ability when he made man, and now must expend all his powers on saving a few from the evil world in which he has placed us. Once again the long and glorious story of evolution written in the rocks and the mountains, in the flowers, the fields, and the forests, and in the bodies of animals and men only mocks man's helplessness and uselessness, as once the anti-evolutionist said that God or the devil had placed the fossils in the rocks to lead geologists astray. He who sees in history only deterioration and degeneration, only a long descent from the Garden of Eden to the gates of hell, contravenes one of the most deeply rooted persuasions of modern man and rejects the clear evidence of historical documents.

It may be objected that these are rationalistic, deductive arguments, based largely on wish thinking. Then, in the light of modern scientific, empirical, and inductive methods of research, does history show order and meaning and evidence of the production of higher and higher values?

No one who has considered the caves and flint tools of paleolithic man, the stone huts and crude plows of the ancient Hebrews and their neighbors, the cold dark towers and bare halls of medieval castles, and even the tessellated floors and the painted walls of Roman villas, can long to go back to the joys of ancient days. What is true of outward existence is equally true of ancient science, morality, philosophy (Plato to the contrary notwithstanding), and religion. The "good old days" are a phantasm of memories that live in a dimly visioned past an afterimage in old eyes that no longer see near at hand. How charming and romantic the old-oaken-bucket illusion, until one remembers the leaves and twigs, the mosquito larvae and typhoid germs in the water!

Only a perverse reasoning can maintain that the more men have, the more men know, and the larger the number of men who have things and knowledge, the more degenerate society

Surely man is better than the amoeba. In spite of all that
o horrible wars and their consequences have cost in blood
d sweat, in toil and tears, there never has been a time when
many persons prized and enjoyed the higher things of the
irit, books, music, and art in all of its forms. There probably
today a larger number of persons who are willing to sacrifice
d indeed are sacrificing purely material well-being for moral
d spiritual ideals than ever before — and that not only in
r armies. The world has rarely seen such heroism exhibited
y great masses of people, men, women, and children, as in
hina, Russia, and the countries of Europe recently occupied
y Germany, exhibited by passively but openly resisting clergy-
en and their congregations and by long-suffering peasants,
s well as by activist, underground saboteurs and guerrillas.

Because evolution did not carry our generation to the skies
n flowery beds of ease, we should not declare the world evil.
he sad but indisputable fact that, in a brief century or two,
e industrial revolution did not produce for us the kind of
apitalist or socialist or communist millennium we may have
esired is no reason for denying the possibility of progress. The
ilure of evolution as an escalator does not prove that there
re no heights which can be scaled.

This argument might be indefinitely expanded by the addi-
on of detailed evidence. It is enough to say that there is a
attern in history, evidence enough of development, evolution,
rogress, whatever one wishes to call it, far more evidence than
necessary to prove, what is a priori to be expected, that
uman society and its history are part of an ordered universe
nd that they move, not at random nor in endless, helpless
ircles, but along a definite path. Though we can but dimly
lot it, we can discern the movement, and, on any reasonable
ierarchy of values, we cannot fail to see that the movement is
pward. This fact of movement, in other words of evolution,
s the one characteristic which gives the universe and the life
f man real value. To men today, conditioned as we are by the
iscoveries of modern science and the wonders of modern in-
ention, a static universe is unthinkable. The sun and the moon
ever have stood still. Human society likewise moves and

always has moved. Blasphemous as it may seem to the bibli cal literalist, evolution is the strongest evidence for the ex istence of God.

In his Gifford Lectures Archbishop Temple concludes tha "the meaning of History is found in the development of an ever wider fellowship of ever richer personalities. The goal o History is the Commonwealth of Value." [11] In a recent popu lar article he adds that the first task before us is to disabus people's minds of the notion that "Christianity is in essence a system of morals" — and, he might have added, merely a scheme of individual salvation — and to remind them that "to be a Christian is to share a new movement of life." The secon task, he says, "is to restore hope to the world through a tru understanding of the relation of the Kingdom of God to history as a transcendent reality that is continually seeking, and par tially achieving, embodiment in the activities and conflicts o the temporal order." [12]

Dr. Temple's statements, so different from Professor Nie buhr's, represent the view which I am here proposing excep at one point, where he verges toward that of Niebuhr. He call the Kingdom of God a "transcendent reality," and regards th climax of the process of its embodiment in the temporal orde as coming in the transition to the eternal order. Niebuhr place the final end of history "beyond history," and essentially un connected with it. I would say that what is being embodied i history and gives it meaning is, figuratively speaking, a truly "transcendent reality," but that it is not metaphysically transcendent. The idea of transcendence belongs to an ancien pattern of ideas which belittles the universe in order to exal the God. God is known only through the universe which he ha made and men's experience of him in life and in history Transcendence is one of those "archaic misconceptions" which distorts and obscures truth.

It is an immanent, emergent reality but no less divine, which the historical process is developing and uncovering to the eye

[11] Nature, Man, and God (London: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 448, 450.

[12] Christian News Letter, No. 198 (Dec. 29, 1943), Supplement, pp. 11 f., reprinte in Christianity and Crisis, IV, 1 (Feb. 7, 1944), p. 6.

f those who seek it. It is not something from without seeking o enter into the temporal order, an "eternal life, . . . attainble before as well as after the catastrophe of death." [13] Least of all is it something from "beyond history," as Niebuhr says, but, something which belongs to this temporal, historical order of existence, a value that in some strange fashion inheres in humanity and its history, and which, so the Christian believes, is to be progressively realized through the spiritual vitality in the historical life of Jesus.

The value and meaning of history, then is to be found in an understanding of the true nature of history. It must not be thought of as merely a series of events more or less closely connected. It consists basically of human experience, of the interwoven decisions, actions, and feelings of multitudes of human beings, all deeply affected by external circumstances and events. It is a social process, changing and developing in kaleidoscopic fashion, but it is not the result of the irregular shifting of minute glass prisms. It is rather a living and growing thing.

As a process of development, infinitely more complicated and more magnificent than the growth of an oak, as a tremendous conflict between the destructive and constructive forces in society, history becomes indescribably imposing and inspiring. It puts before men a challenge to decision, to use a fine phrase of the dialectical theologians. Man has his part to play, not as a mere cog in a machine, not as a mere actor in any already-written play, but as a soldier whose courage and skill mean something not merely to his fellows, but to the total strategy of a cosmic conflict. Men's decisions add to the sum of values in the universe or subtract from them. The value and meaning of history are to be sought and found within history.

[13] Nature, Man, and God, p. 450.

VIR BONUS QUADRATO LAPIDI COMPARATUR

IN AN article published recently on the English pupils of St. Anselm,[1] he saying which forms the title of this essay is quoted from the Dicta Anselmi. The same sentence appears in Ps. Anselm's Similitudines, nd in Eadmer's Sermon on Gregory the Great. This coincidence is sed as evidence for the dependence of the two latter works upon the ormer. But the saying is of much greater antiquity.

Plato tells us that Simonides of Cos, in his poem dedicated to Scopas son of Creon, the Thessalian, had said,

> the wicked becomes a good man, four-square with regard to his hands, eet and mind; firmly built without blemish.

The same metaphor is found in Aristotle, Methodius of Philippi Olympus), Julian the Apostate and Damascius, a Neo-Platonist nder Justinian I. They all quote the saying of Simonides.[2] There xists, however, no possibility that Anselm borrowed the metaphor rom one of these authors. The stone, which he mentions, would remain unaccounted for since it is not referred to by Simonides.[3] This divergence offers an insight into the influence of ancient physicists upon Patristic theology.

I

The square stone forms the subject of R. Eisler's learned article on *Cuba, Cybele*, in which he suggests that it was worshipped as a symbol of the great maternal Deity by ancient nations of the Near East. To the great amount of evidence collected by Eisler there might be added the legendary square stone at Ilium mentioned by L. Ampelius, upon which Cassandra had been sacrificed and which, when touched, emits milk and water. The sacrificial pit at Rome (*mundus*) was also covered by a square stone.[4]

[1] Medieval and Renaissance Studies 1, 1941, 9.

[2] Plato, Protag. 339B; 344A; Aristot., Eth. Nic. 1.10.11; Rhet. 3.11.2; Bekker. Method. Resurrect. 2.3.5; Bonwetsch, p. 334, 21; Julian, Conviv. Caes. 333B; Damascius in Suidas, s.v. *tetragonos*. "Without hands and feet" is the Agathodaimon, Philo Bybl. in Euseb., Praep. Ev. 10.1.46.

[3] Aspas, in Eth. Nic., ed. Heylbut, p. 29, 29, stresses the significance of this omission.

[4] R. Eisler, Philologus 68, 1909, 118 sq.; 461 sq. L. Ampel. 8.11. Mundus, Festus, p. 346 Th.

But there is a group of square stones which cannot be included with these. They are rather connected with Greek cosmology, most clearly in its Pythagorean form. They are the *Hermae*, the Greek road-signs, which were four-square without hands and feet, and the meaning of this form was often discussed by Greek philosophers.[5] Pythagorean views are voiced by Cornutus, the pagan theologian of the first century A.D., when he says that this form symbolizes the firmness and reliability of the god: Jamblichus, who took up the same argument in the fourth century, witnesses to its Pythagorean origin. Magic religion too invoked *Hermes tetragonos*, identifying him with the "square" *logos*. But it would be unwise to regard this or any other identification of the square stone as originating with the god Hermes. Dorian road-signs which were also four-square were sacred to Apollo *Agyieus*. At Tegea there was the four-square Zeus *Teleios*. Roman authors represented Janus or Saturnus as four-square. In the Arabian city of Petra there was a square stone which the Greeks regarded as Ares. Jerusalem in the sixth century boasted of the possession of the square stone upon which Jesus Christ had been placed when Pilate spoke his *ecce homo*. It still bore the imprints of His feet and was reputed to work miracles.[6]

It seems that these various square stones find their common denominator in the religious approach to an old conception of the universe. The universal godhead is represented by the square. This idea was tainted with sexual implications. In the religions of the Near East the godhead was feminine; in Greece it was masculine, the *phallus* being a requisite of the Herma.

II

The cosmological significance of the square stone was acknowledged by ancient physicists also. Reference may be made to the square ground-plan of ancient cities; particularly of Babylon whose square

[5] E.g. Apollod. frg. 30 Müller; Heraclit. Quaest. Homer. 72; Plut. Quaest. Conviv. 9.3.2.

[6] Cornut. ed. Land, p. 23, 11 sq. Jambl., Theol. Arithm. de Falco, p. 28, 1 sq. Magic, Pap. Lond. 1, 7 v. 401 sq.; 105 v. 668 sq.; Arch. Pap. Forsch. 2, 1903, 209, 4, cf. Hoefer in Roscher's Lexikon s.v. *tetragonos*. Apollo *Agyieus*, schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 489, and Rutherford's note. Zeus *Teleios*, Pausan. 8.48.6. Janus, cf. Gavius Bassus in Macrob. Sat. 1.9.12. Saturnus, Tertullian adv. Marc. 1.18. Ares, cf. Suidas s.v. *Theusares*, cf. Max. Tyn. 28 (Hobein) Jerusalem, cf. Antoninus Itin. Hieros. 23. The Alexandrine god *Aion* seems to have been four-square too, R. Reitzenstein Iran. Erlösungsmyst., 1921, 214 n. 1. Men and women, Plut. Quaest. Rom. 102.

ound-plan has been established by the excavations of Koldewey. has been held that its square ground-plan as well as its square ower was intended to represent the universe. Roman geodesy was ie art of dividing the land into squares. The orientation of Roman olonies, which were designed so that their streets were laid out along nd at right angles to the line of the first beam of the sun as it rose n midsummer day, suggests similar intentions. The probability of ke considerations lying behind the "rational" town planning of lippodamus of Miletus has recently been maintained by Fabricius.[7] This representation of the universe by cities with a square ground-lan assumes that the universe itself is built in a rectangular shape, s a brick or a cube. Here a very primitive opinion makes its appear-nce. The theory of the square universe goes back to times when the lea of the "universe" had not yet been fully evolved. It therefore ften amounted to no more than the statement that the earth was a ube. In Jewish cosmology, for instance, the world was thought of s a house of three stories, heaven, earth and the underworld, of which the earth is a cube; in Anatolian and in Greek cosmology only wo stories, heaven and earth, seem to appear.[8] There, too, it is often elieved that the earth is a cube. It is plainly stated by Olympiodorus sixth century A.D.) in his commentary on Plato's Phaedo, in which he universe is represented as the cubic earth above which is the sky n the form of a dodecahedron. To this there is added a not entirely nderstandable reference of fire as a pyramid. This may be accounted or by a very old tradition that the Pythagoreans knew only three egular solids: the pyramid, the cube and the dodecahedron. Olym-iodorus seems to have had knowledge of this fact and to have com-ined the three regular solids with the three main cosmological as-umptions of Pythagoreanism, central fire, earth and heaven.[9]

The theory that the earth is a cube was still popular in the first nd second centuries A.D., for it was attacked by a Stoic writer of the econd century, Cleomedes, who maintained that, if such were the

[7] Babylon, R. Koldewey, Wiedererst. Babylon 4th ed., 1924, 2; B. Meissner, Assyrien u. Babylonien 1, 312. Roman colonies, W. Nissen, Templum, 1869, 167; Orientation 1, 1906, 86 sq. Fabricius in Pauly-Wiss. 2nd ser. 3.2, 1929, 2000 sq. Greek testimonies, e.g. the square ground-plan of Nephelecoccygia, Aristoph., Av. 1004 sq.; Nicea in Bithynia, Strabo, 12.4.7.

[8] Jewish, R. Eisler, Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt, 1912, 2, 623 sq. Anatolian, W. M. Ramsay, Asianic Elements, 1927, 212 sq.

[9] Olympiod. in Plat. Phaed. Norvin, p. 238, 13 sq. Three regular solids, sch. in Euclid. Elem. 13; Heiberg 5, 654, 1 sq., cf. E. Sachs, Fünf Platon. Körper, 1917, 79 sq. Central fire, Ueberweg-Praechter Philos. d. Alt. 12th ed., 1926, 68.

case, the inhabited upper plane of the cube would have only six hours of daylight, since the sun would need another eighteen hours to move round the cube again.[10] The long survival of the theory of a cubic earth was facilitated by the religious association of *Magna Mater*, Cybele and Mother Earth with the cube, for these schemes are only expressions of an identical thought in the spheres of religion and philosophy.

The Pythagorean combination of the three regular solids with fire, earth and heaven was favored by various considerations. The supposed etymological connection of πῦρ and πύραμις probably played a part, for it appears wherever Greeks discuss this equation; the combination of earth and cube was an old established religious as well as practical tenet; and the dodecahedron represented the twelve signs of the zodiac. This system was endangered when Theaetetus discovered two more regular solids, the octahedron and the icosahedron. It was Plato who in his Timaeus reconstructed the theory by combining the four regular solids, the pyramid, cube, octahedron and icosahedron with the elements of fire, earth, air and water respectively, leaving the dodecahedron in its place as the sphere surrounding the universe. Whether or not he had any predecessor in these identifications is still uncertain.[11]

To support this theory Plato uses two arguments. He constructs the three elements of fire, water and air out of bodies whose sides consist of equilateral triangles. The fourth he represents as consisting of six sides of squares composed of four isosceles rectangular triangles. The halved equilateral triangle, and the isosceles rectangular triangle are for him the two ideal primitive plane figures. From the accounts given by his successors, Ps. Timaeus-Locrus and Albinus, and from the polemical allusions of Hermias, one of the lesser apologists of the third century A.D., it appears as if the cube may be the earth itself in later Platonism.[12]

The four compass points of practical geometry, and the four-square shape of the plane of the cube which represents the earth, be it Mother Earth or the element earth or the visible earth, which forms the foundation of the universe, illustrate the worship of the *tetraktys*, the

[10] Cleomedes Motu circ. 1.8.44.

[11] Boisacq, Dict. Etym. Gr., is silent with regard to the assumed etymology, but remarks that the pyramid is of an *origine étrangère*. Plato, Tim. 49 sq., esp. 55C sq. Predecessor, "Pythagoras" in Stob. Flor. 1.21.6c Wachsm. 1, 186, cf. E. Frank, Plato u. d. Pythagoraeer, 1923, 233 sq.

[12] Ps. Tim. Locr. 98C; Albin. Isag. 13, cf. Apulei. de Platone 1.7. Hermias Irrisio 8 M. Gr. 6, 1178.

umber four, among the Pythagoreans. It represents the universe ith all its gods and perfect harmony.[13] This worship is reinforced y the addition of the four elements as the fundamental material of hich the whole universe consists.[14]

III

This worship of a number appears most strange to the modern nind. But it is neither superstitious in the modern sense, nor sense- ess, however irrational. It expresses the strong feeling for the sym- olic or abstract value of the image employed for the expression of a nost consequential discovery, the discovery that earth and heaven, n short the universe, are one whole. It was the abolition of narrow onds of blood and soil which appeared as a vision to people who were nade free to proceed to the "four corners of the earth." This aboli- ion was effected by a spiritual discovery, represented by the symbol f the square stone, Mother Earth or Hermes the Logos; and it was reasonable conclusion to worship the pure spirit by worshipping the bstract number — much more reasonable than worshipping the vari- us existing square stones.

But the worship of the result achieved, the insight into perfect harmony and perfect rest allegorized by the cube, made certain moral demands. These are expressed by Cebes the Stoic, when he puts Paideia on a cube, while Tyche balances on a ball.[15] These moral demands were also allegorized by numbers, which again calls for ex- planation. Ancient philosophy did not distinguish between pure and practical reason. The numerals which had proved invaluable for the expression of findings of pure — or mathematical — reason were, therefore, regarded also as suitable symbols for the expression of the demands of philosophical ethics. This assumption is arbitrary and number mystics were, therefore, doomed to failure. But the sincerity of the attempt should not be questioned because of the erroneous character of its presuppositions.

The good man, says Simonides of Cos, is four-square. The good man is, therefore, similar in his spiritual appearance to the *cosmos*.

[13] Cf. on archaic formulae concerning the tetrad, which "always aims at the uni- versal deity," R. Reitzenstein, Mysterien-Relig., 3rd ed., 1927, 152.

[14] Foundation of the universe, H. Usener, Rhein. Mus., 1903, 341. *Tetraktys*, e.g. Hierocl., in Carm. Aur. 20 and A. Boeckh, Kl. Schr. 3, 141 sq. The first systematic description of the Pythagorean theory of the four is Meursius Denarius, Pythagoric., ch. 6, cf. A. Lobeck, Aglaophamus, 430 sq.

[15] Plut., Defect. Orac., 34; Cebes Tab., 7.1; 18.3.

The ideal city is built in a square, or at least its roads meet in right angles, in order to express the fact that the political system likewise derives its rules from the spiritual form of the *cosmos*. The good man in the social order is the just man; justice is the principle of political life in the *cosmopolis* and its counterparts, the city and the microcosm man. Justice must, therefore, be combined somehow with the idea of the square universe.

An old conception of Greek ethics connects the goddess Dike with the number Two because she shares equally between two parties, or because she is inseparably connected with Adikia, her adversary, an idea represented for instance on the shrine of Kypselos. Accordingly the name Dike is connected by an assumed etymology with δίχα twice. The earliest mention of this etymology is by Aristotle, but he may have had predecessors. It is repeated by Jamblichus as late as the fourth century A.D. Dike was a demonic power, closely connected with Mother Earth and Hades, and identified with Isis "mistress of the heavenly and the visible worlds." Isis in her turn is etymologically connected with ἴσος, equal, and ἰσότης, equality.[16]

But this demonic principle of divine justice is balanced by another, that of transcendental as well as personal righteousness, *dikaiosyne*; and this abstract conception is combined with the number four. It thus characterizes universal harmony, resting upon the four cardinal virtues of which *dikaiosyne* is the first. It is the connecting link between the microcosm, man, and the macrocosm, the world, The best illustration of this scheme is found in the description of justice as "*quadrata iustitia*" on the one hand, and the description of a healthy body as "*quadratum corpus*" on the other. A similar idea is that a square forehead, which appeared as particularly beautiful to ancient physiognomists, resembled that of the square Hermes the Logos.[17]

[16] Dike and δίχα, Aristot., Eth. Nic. 5.7, 1132a, cf. Xenocrates, frg. 15 Heinze, where [μητρὸς θεῶν] gives an interesting illustration of her connection with Magna Mater. Jambl., Theol. Arithm. de Falco, p. 13, 11 sq., cf. Etym. Gudian s.v. *Dike*; Favon. Eulog. in Somn. Scip. Holder, p. 3, 32 sq. Mother Earth, cf. Other Pastors of Thy Flock, 1942, 20 sq., and Precatio Terrae Baehrens Poet. Lat. Min. 1, 138 sq. "*caeli ac maris diva arbitra rerumque omniumque.*" Isis, Porph. Agalm. frg. 10 Bidez, p. 19, 13 sq. The earliest testimony for the identification of Isis with justice is, according to R. Reitzenstein, Zwei Religionsgesch. Fragen, 1901, 105 n. 6, CIG. 2, 2295. Isis and equality, Jambl., Theol. Arithm. de Falco, p. 13, 11 sq.; Arithm. Nic. Pistelli, p. 13, 9 sq.; 81, 15 sq.

[17] *Dikaiosyne* and four, Ps. Aristot. Magn. Mor. A. 1, 1182a, 11. *Quadrata iustitia*, Philo Opif. Mundi 16.51; Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.102.4 sq.; Plotin. Enn. 6.6, 675B; Jambl., Theol. Arithm. de Falco, p. 29, 5 sq.; Mart. Cap. 7.732, cf. F. Doelger Sonne d. Gerechtigkeit u. d. Schwarze, 1919, 90 sq. *Quadratum corpus*, e.g. Celsus 2.1 Darem-

The close connection between micro- and macrocosm fostered the elief that the whole life of the former was recognizably predestined ly the unchangeable course of the latter. Astrology undertook the ısk of outlining this connection in accordance with the then ac-pted unchangeable laws of the courses of celestial bodies. In this onnection the number eight, the cubic power of two, became sig-ificant. The Astrological theory found Fate in the seven moving pheres of the planets and in the eighth motionless sphere of fixed ars. The unavoidable law of Fate was equated with that govern-ıg the movements of the planets from the eighth sphere. For this eason *nomos*, the law, was equated with its abode, the eighth sphere, nd its numerical value, eight. A geometrical row of numbers, *Dike* vo, *dikaiosyne* four, *nomos* eight, was thus achieved in the field of ıorals by Hellenistic philosophers. The theory also contains an schatological reference, the eighth sphere is the place of eternal rest, ut those who miss this goal will enter hell through seven gates. The gdoas consequently became a subject of religious worship.[18]

The false hypothesis of number mystics produced an instability in ıe fields of moral and political philosophy which was not encountered ı ancient physics. Political mathematics still reveal the contest be-ween geometrical and arithmetical justice, the former defended by ıe Platonists, the latter by the Pythagoreans. The numerical value f *Dike* is given by Plutarch on "Pythagoras'" authority as three, ıat of *dikaiosyne* by Jamblichus as five.[19]

IV

Ancient philosophy was never cut off from religious speculation and eligion tried to keep abreast of current views founded upon philo-

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rg, p. 28, 23 sq. Forehead, Damasc. in Phot. Bibl. Bekker, p. 336a, 4 sq. Philo-rat. Vita Apoll. 7.42; Heroic 2;9 even praises the beauty of a "square" nose.

[18] Geometrical row, Nicom. Geras. in Phot. Bibl. Bekker, p. 144b, 35, cf. Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1.5.17, identifying justice with eight. Eighth sphere, Poimandr. 26a . Scott 1, 128, 14 sq. Seven gates of hell, R. Reitzenstein, Festschr. F. Andreas, 916, 36 sq. Worship of Ogdoas, earliest testimony, Euandres, head of the Academy om 215 B.C., in Leutsch-Schneidewin Paroemiogr. 1, 151. It is not accidental that erod. 1.181, says that the Babylonian tower had eight stories, R. Reitzenstein, Iran. rlösungsmyst. 207 n. 2 is mistaken.

[19] Political mathematics, Platonic view in Plut., Quaest. Conviv. 8.2.2. Pythago-an view, Ps. Archyt. in Stob. Flor. 3.43.137 Hense 4, 84. Neo-Platonic view, mbl., Comm. Math. 15 Festa, p. 56, 4; Herm. Alex. in Plat. Phaedr. Couvreur, p. 95, sq.; Procl. in Euclid. I Friedlein, p. 23, 12 sq.; 62, 26 sq. Epicurean ridiculing of the heme, Philodem., Rhet. frg. 8, col. 13. *Dike* three, Plut., de Iside 75, 381E, cf. Euseb. ric. 6. 13. *Dikaiosyne* five, Jambl., Comm. Math. 18 Festa, p. 60 sq.

sophical authority. In Jewish religion the early Semitic convictions o a cubic universe are reflected in the visions of Ezekiel, representing the most Holy Place and the heavenly Jerusalem as cubes. Hellenis tic influences were at work when the Septuagint version inserted a verse into the book of Job which represents the earth as a cubic stone Philo, as is to be expected, makes use of the cube in various places in number-mystical connection. A peculiar piece of evidence is fur nished by Josephus who says that the Jews at Jerusalem in the las days of the siege set out to construct a cubic temple and that they were conquered as it had been prophesied. Prophecy was a means o political propaganda at that time and the remark gives us a glimpse of a most energetic dispute about the propitious or ominous characte of the cube.[20]

To the same complex of amalgamated Jewish and Greek though belongs the description of the cubic shape of the heavenly Jerusalem in St. John's Apocalypse. The connection with Ezekiel is undeniable but there is one point which suggests a Hellenistic influence. The length of the walls of the city is given as 12,000 *stadia*, but it is un certain whether the circumference or one side length is meant. The same uncertainty prevails in Greek sources with regard to the typica square city, Babylon. Herodotus maintains that the side length is 120 *stadia*, Diodorus says it is 300, making the circumference 1,20 *stadia*. It seems possible to connect this discrepancy with the ob scurity in the corresponding narrative in Revelation.[21]

The Fathers of the Church adopted the cosmological significanc of the cube and of the number four. Hermas in his Shepherd com pares Christ with a big square stone, lying in a wide plane and large enough to embrace the whole universe. Whether this simile is in fluenced by the cult of the square Hermes Logos, or by that of Cybele or by philosophical reasoning,[22] is uncertain, and without much con sequence. What is essential is the fact that the God-man Christ is a square stone which is able to reconcile the whole world unto Himself

The universal significance of the number four is referred to by

[20] Ez., 41.4; 48.3, cf. Exod., 27.1, etc.; Landersdorfer, Baal Tetramorphos, 1918 Job, 38.38 in the LXX version. Philo, Opif. Mundi 30 sq.; Spec. Leg. 2.212. Jos Bell. 6.311, cf. R. Eisler, Jesus Basileus, 1930, 2, 593 n. 1.

[21] Rev., 21.15 sq., cf. Ps. Cypr. Monte Sina 10 Hartel, p. 116. Herod., 1.178 sq. Diod. 2.9. Cf. the symbolic square wall drawn around Rome by Vespasian of 120 t 110 *actus*, H. Nissen, Rhein. Mus., 1894, 282.

[22] Hermas, Sim. 9.2.1. This passage may be open to a connection with the religio of Cybele if M. Dibelius, Handb. z. N.T. Erg. Bd., 1923, 605, is right in assuming tha the rock is hollow, for the cave in the cube is the characteristic of her cult.

naeus where he proves the necessity of the existence of four spels:

Adv. Haer. 3.11.8 M. "As there are four corners of the world in which we e, and four winds throughout the world, and as the Church is sown over whole world; moreover as the Gospel is the pillar and the basis of the rld and its breath of life: consequently the world must have four pillars, piring it with incorruptibility and reviving man. Thus it follows that *Logos*, the architect of the world, who is enthroned upon the Cherubim l supports the world, when He became manifest amongst men, gave us the rfold Gospel. . . ."

Christian and pagan parallels show that this passage refers to a ır-square ground-plan of the universe.[23]

Various Gnostic sects went much further, the *Marcosii* for instance known to have worshipped the *tetraktys* the same as the Pytha-reans, and the Gnostic Acts of St. John contain hymns in honor of e Ogdoas. Basilides and Valentinus probably accepted the Jewish stem which expected this dispensation to last seven *days* of one ousand years each, after which, on the eighth day, the new *Aion* of rnal rest would begin. They combined it with the pagan one ich found rest in the eighth sphere, the heavenly Jerusalem. A ole system of squares and *ogdoades* is connected with *heimarmene*, e universal Fate, in the Gnostic Pistis Sophia.[24]

These ideas were resisted by Fathers of the Catholic Church. rious writers, as Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus of Rome, ert that the *monad* is life and the *dyad* death and darkness, inci-ntally following another pagan system of number mysticism. There some struggle too for the number seven in preference to the eight; t eventually, at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., Lactan-s proclaims that the doctrine of the world's week is an article of th in the Western Church, and Methodius of Philippi (Olympus) ises the spiritual joy of the *ogdoas*. A memorial of this develop-nt is the baptistry of St. Thecla at Milan with its octagonal ground-

[23] Christian, Didache 10.5; Theophil. Ant., ad Autolyc. 1.32; Origen in Ev. Joh. .21 Preuschen; Filastr., Haer. 129. 5 sq. Marx. Pagan, cf. A. Dieterich in Fleckeisen's rb. Suppl. 16, 1888, 773; Mithras-Liturgie, 1903, 63, quoting Porph. Antr. 25 uck, p. 71.

Marcosii, cf. F. Dornseiff, Das Alphabet, 1922, 128. Acta Joh. 95 Bonnet-sius. Valentinus, Hippol. Philos. 6.2.32; 34; 31.7; 9; Tertullian, adv. Val. 27. silides, Clem. Alex. Strom. 4.162.1. Jewish theory, Bousset-Gressmann, Relig. d. lent. 3rd ed., 1926, 245 sq. Pistis Sophia, cf. the index of K. Schmidt's translation.

plan and its eight inaugural disticha by St. Ambrose. This model was to be copied by many "round" churches of later times.[25]

As in the macrocosm so in the microcosm the symbol of the square was used. Just as man according to pagan views has to harbor the four cardinal virtues in his soul, and to progress *quadrato agmine*, and in short to be "square," so Christians claim that the perfect Gnostic is square like Justice, being a small temple which represents the big one, Christ. For a man in God is himself a city of God. Christians are built as square stones into the square tower of the Church.[26]

V

But the dispute about the significance of even numbers went on and could not be decided, as the presuppositions of the argument were arbitrary. As among the Jews so among pagans and Christians depreciating voices were heard. The Hermetic book Asclepius for instance holds that man consists of two parts, the body composed of the four elements and the monadic soul. This theory corresponds to the assumption mentioned above, that Justice is the number five, a spiritual principle organizing the chaos of matter, the four elements into a *cosmos*.[27] Various philosophers and poets treat all even numbers, and in particular the four, as ominous. "*Numero deus impar gaudet*," is interpreted in this way, and repercussions of this dispute

[25] Clem., Alex. Strom. 7.102.2 sq.; Hippol., Philos. 4.43.12. Lact., Div. Inst. 7.14 sq. Method. Symp. 3.7; 7.6 Bonw., p. 34; 77. Number seven, Cypr., ad Fortun. 11 Hartel p. 338; Victorin., Petav. Comm. Rev. 1.1; 1.7; 8.2; 10.2 Haussl. p. 16; 27; 86; 93 Rufin., Pentec. 2 Engelbrecht, p. 142, 7 sq. St. Thecla, F. J. Doelger, Antike u. Chr tentum 4, 1934, 153 sq. The earliest Greek instance of such a ground-plan is t "tower of the winds" at Athens.

[26] Cardinal virtues, Hierocl., in Carm. Aur. 10 Mullach 1, 436. *Quadrato agmi* Seneca, Ep. ad Lucil. 6.7.7. Square man, Himer., Or. 7.12 Duebner. Square justic Clem., Alex. Strom. 6.102.4 sq. Small temple, eod. 7.82.4; Quis Dives 32.4. City God, Ps. Clem. Rom. de Virg. 1.9.2. Funk. Tower of the Church, Hermas, Vis. 3.2.4 Origen, Princ. 2.11.3 Koetschau, p. 186, 11; Method., adv. Porph. 1.7 Bonw., p. 30 Ps. Cypr. de Pascha comp. 17 Hartel, p. 264.

[27] Ascl. 1.7b W. Scott, 1, 296, 28 sq., cf. Method., Constant. schol. in Acta Marina Usener, p. 49, 27; 51, 8. Doctrine of the five, see F. Wilhelm, Rhein. Mus. 70, 191 213 n. 2, on Neo-Pythagoreanism; Zepf, Arch. Relig. Wiss. 25, 1937, 226 sq. on *Aid* as the fifth god and the fifth element; Ovid., Fast. 3.849; Serv., in Georg. 1.277, c five as sacred to Minerva, cf. F. Altheim in Pauly-Wiss. 15.2, 1779 s.v. *Minerva*; I Reitzenstein, Myster. Relig. 3rd ed., 1927, 265 sq., on Iranian beliefs.

ay be observed in texts as remote from the centre of Hellenistic ought as the Mandaic.[28]

This opposition added force to the objections taken within the urch to the worshipping of four. The earliest representatives of a onophysite Christology were the first to protest that the ascension the Christ in His risen Body would transform the Holy Trinity into quaternity.[29] Athanasius counters this accusation in his letter to pictetus, saying that on the contrary a monophysite Christology ould add the risen Body of Christ to the Holy Trinity and make it quaternity:

> For if the Logos is consubstantial with His Body, which has the nature of rth, and if He is consubstantial too with the Father, then the Father is consubstantial with earth. Why then blame the Arians . . . , when you say, e Father is consubstantial with His creation? . . . Do then take the opportunity to state that the Logos was brought forth by earth (ad Epict. 4 M. r. 25, 1056).

This passage must be interpreted in the light of Greek mythology, hich represents Kronos as the son of Uranos and Gaia, heaven and rth, and connects the two parents with the four. The whole struggle more easily understood, when it is realized that quaternity symolizes the universe, and that St. Athanasius — with whatever justiication — intends to stress the distance between the creative Trinity nd the created universe. He could count on being understood with is allegory, for the Pythagorean worship of the *tetraktys* was still ell remembered. Basil the Great, for instance, jokes at the expense f the tax-collectors being as keen on imposing a fine of the fourfold, s any Pythagorean on his *tetraktys*.[30]

The letter to Epictetus had a strong appeal to various Christians, or the formula *trinitas-quaternitas* was a handy instrument in com-

[28] Eusthat., in Hom. Od. 5.262, p. 1534, 36 sq. Quotation, Virgil, Ecl. 8.75, cf. erv. ad h. l.; Lutat. Placid. in Stat. Thebaid. 5.86. Mandaic, a hymn published by idzbarski, Florileg. de Vogüé, 1909, 371 v. 260, describes the firmament as eightornered, a cube or octagonal, and in Ginza sin. 52 transl. Lidzbarski, p. 578, the eight ppears as propitious; but in Ginza rect. transl. Lidzbarski, p. 332, 28 sq.; 459, 25 sq., nd sin., p. 594, 13, all even numbers are regarded as ominous, and the eight in particur in Johannesbuch transl. Libzbarski, p. 41, 17.

[29] The Rev. W. Telfer, D.D. reminds me that we read in the creed of the second ouncil of Sirmium (A.D. 357), G. L. Hahn, Bibl. d. Symb. 3rd ed., 1897, 201, "*integer erfectus numerus trinitatis est.*" This may indicate that the Arians at that time had ready some such monophysite leanings. See also Athanas. adv. Arian. 1.30 (Bright p. 2).

[30] Basil, Ep. 21 ed. Deferrari, p. 126.

bats against heretics. It was adopted by Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine; and it is applied most violently in the letters of various bishops in the Collectio Avellana. These letters protest against Peter Fullo monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, 471 A.D., who included the mention of the Cross in the Trishagion.[31]

VI

The pagan idea, the worship of the *cosmos* under the symbol of the square, was still to be found in Eastern pagan circles about 500 A.D. Hermes Logos who had been sculptured as drawing a square upon the ground and was held to be the inventor of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet with which he filled the twenty-four triangles of the Platonic cube, was still described as being himself the "first cube." Damascius the Neo-Platonist found his wisdom shining from the square forehead of his teacher Isidorus. John Lydus, another member of the same school, like Damascius living under Justinian I, turned the contrast between Hermes and Christ into a pungent accusation. The four-square Logos, he asserts, Hermes Logos, is truth; the Logos *trigonos*, Christ, is falsehood; and the Logos *polygonoteros* probably the Jewish religion, fallacy.[32]

Such sayings were answered in the East by a growing reserve in regard to the allegorization of the four. Representative is a Father of the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza, who holds that the number forty has an ominous significance, wherever it appears in the Bible because of its relation to four.[33] Still more significant is the way in which remnants of the theory survive. John Philoponus, the Alexandrian Christian Neo-Platonist and heretic (6th century A.D.) follows earlier authorities when quoting Job 38. 38 in the LXX form in favor of a four-square universe. He finds a follower for this in Cosmas Indicopleustes who says that the lowest sphere forms a cube on the same Biblical authority. Maximus Confessor, the Byzantine

[31] Ambrose, Incarn. 7.77 sq. M. Lat. 16, 838. Jerome in Mark 11.1–10 Anecd. Mareds. 3, 356, 5 sq. August, Ep. 140.5.12 Goldbacher. Coll. Avel. 73–78 Guenther.

[32] Hermes Logos, Suidas s.v. *Hermên*; *Hermôn*; *tetragonos*. John Lydus, De mens. Wuensch, p. 129, 18 sq. The *trigonos*, probably omitted by a copyist who scented blasphemy, was ingeniously supplied by G. Wissowa. For the meaning of *polygonos* a immoral cf. also Jamblich. Vita Pyth. 77 fin. An attempt to describe Christ in term belonging to Hermes Logos was made by Claudian the Younger, Anth. Pal. 1.20–22, cf. R. Reitzenstein, Zwei relig.-gesch. Fragen 107 n. 2.

[33] Procop., Gaz. in Deut. 25.3 M. Gr. 87, 937, copied by Hraban. Maur. in Ez. 1 M. Lat. 110, 801.

compiler of the seventh century, quotes Clement of Alexandria's saying on *quadrata iustitia*, maintaining that in a mystical sense the world is man and man the world, and develops a theory of the five which resembles Hermetic sayings; the five consists of the monad, the idea, entering matter composed of the four elements.[34]

Other traces of the theory may be found in alchemistic literature. There the divine *Dike* was still revered. The earthly Adam was compared with his luminous counterpart as Prometheus and Epimetheus in a way reminiscent of the theory of the micro- and the macrocosm. Olympiodorus alludes to the theory of the five when maintaining that the beginning is more universal than the four elements; and in an alchemist oath Jesus is described as the *monad* triumphant over the *dyad*, matter, thus forming the irreproachable and restoring humanity.[35]

But the tradition was dying out, and it would not be worth while to mention these later Eastern survivals, if the West had not taken it up and revived it.

VII

Western Neo-Platonists had their theory of the number four as well as those in the East. Martianus Capella for instance proclaims a theory of Philology which is identical with that of Hermes Logos. Only because the number four is feminine, he prefers to connect it with a female deity. But it is a perfect number, in accord with the four seasons of the year, the four corners of the earth, and the four elements.[36] Martianus, Isidorus of Sevilla and Cassiodorus developed the theory of the *quadrivium artium liberalium* and Isidorus, in particular, wrote a treatise on numbers in which he extensively deals, in its fifth chapter, with the allegorical significance of the four.

But Isidorus and Cassiodorus were Catholic Christians and their attitude shows that the Western Church took another turn with regard to the symbolism of the four from that followed in Eastern

[34] John Philop. Opif. Mundi 3.10 Reichardt, p. 139, 13 sq. Earlier authority, Const. Apost. 7. 35. 5 Funk. Cosm. Indic. 4; 7 M. Gr. 88, 181 sq.; 381. Max. Conf. Loci Comm. 1; Mystag. 7; Ambig. M. Gr. 91, 725C; 684 sq.; 1396 sq.

[35] Dike, Olympiod. 17 Bertholot, Ms. Alch. Gr. 2, 79, 5 sq. Adam, Zosim. Panop. de Instr. 10 Berthelot 2, 232 sq. Five, Olympiod. eod. 2, 79, 21 sq. I should also refer to the doctrine of the five in the newly discovered Kephalaia of Mani, and to the idea of a *quinta essentia* and its possible relation to ancient Indian philosophy. Three, Berthelot 1, 27, 14 sq.

[36] Martian., Cap. 2. 106, cf. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. 1.6.40 sq.

Christianity. There the interest in the relation between Christ and His creation prevails. St. Jerome says of the ascended Christ "*omnia elementa tenet in pugillo suo.*" Filastrius, Jerome's contemporary, says in his book on heresies that the elements will enter into the glory of the sons of God. John Cassian and Sedulius mention the number four in a mystical sense.[37]

An elaborate theory of the four seems to lie behind various remarks on the subject found in St. Augustine. Not only the universal, but also the personal, meaning of the four is mentioned by him. He takes up the old idea of building. The square beams of which Noah's ark was constructed allegorically represent the just men of whom the Church is being built. This is the personal significance and the universal is found in the number thousand. St. Augustine believes that the time between Christ's ascension and second coming came to be called *millennium* because "*millennarius numerus denarii numeri quadratum solidum reddidit.*" [38]

This was not to be forgotten. Although it appears from a passage in Faustus Reiensis De Spiritu, of the sixth century, that the *trinitas-quaternitas* antithesis had its vogue in the Frankish Church too,[39] the number four and the square stones remained acknowledged symbols. That is most clearly shown in the clash between Paulinus of Aquileia, the faithful servant of Charlemagne, and Felix of Urgel. Paulinus employs the *trinitas-quaternitas* argument against Felix' adoptianism, but adds with regard to the number four,[40]

habet interim in se eo quod basis sit tetragoni sacratius sacramenti figuram.

Felix had attempted to find the number four, or rather two *dyads*, in the qualities of the pre-incarnate Logos and the Christ incarnate. This shows that the belief of these Frankish bishops in number mysticism was strong enough to make them build an heretical doctrine upon it. Felix was not alone, for we find similar, though less advanced, views for instance in the Vita S Remigii by Hincmar of Reims. Such remarks are based upon the theory of the four quarters of the earth,

[37] Jerome, Anecd. Mareds. 3, 356, 17 sq. Filastr. Haer. 80. 7 Marx, p. 43, cf. John of Gaza, Image of the World ed. Friedlaender, p. 137, v. 35. John Cassian 3.3. 4 Petschenig, p. 35 sq. Sedul. Carm. Pasch. 5.190 Huemer, p. 128.

[38] Noah's ark, Civ. 15.26; Enarr. Ps. 86.3; adv. Faustin. 12.12. *Millennium*, Civ. 20.7, cf. eod. 18. 23. The connection with Neo-Platonism appears from a comparison with dicta of Augustine's pupil Favon. Eulog. in Somn. Scip. Holder, p. 3.32 sq.; 5.16 sq. and Augustine's own idea of the eight generations after Adam, Civ. 15.15.

[39] Faust. Rei. De Spir. 2 Engelbrecht, p. 139.

[40] Paulin. Adv. Felicem 1.57 M. Lat. 99, 415 sq.

which is often alluded to in legal documents of this period and put in poetical form in the second poem on the Inventio Sti. Quintini:[41]

O deus omnipotens, coelestia lumina complens,
Aethere qui residens pariter terrena gubernans,
Quadrifidumque orbem iusto moderamine pensas,
Et nunc hos reprimis; nunc illos scandere cogis.[42]

This theory too is coupled with ethical speculations. The monk Hlamanus says in his Vita Nivardi, twenty-fifth bishop of Reims, "*Durocordorum plebem . . . emollire potuit, ac reddidit quadraturam mysticam per credita sibi talenta*," a remark which finds its interpretation in Flodoard's dictum that Bishop Folco of Reims "*Richildim virginam . . . commonet . . . proponens ei quadrivium sive quadrigam virtutum.*" The *quadratura mistica* is the four cardinal virtues. Together with it the theory of four cardinal vices survived.[43]

It would be tempting to enter here into the history of the *quadrivium artium liberalium*, as the Carlovingian renaissance was deeply affected by this conception,[44] and as the perfect mathematician was called *quadratus*, but this would require a special study. Moreover the main ideas on the four and the square were developed earlier than this form given to them by the earliest scholastics.

Rodulfus Glaber who, influenced by the arguments of Isidorus, preaded his history (up to 1044 A.D.) by an obscure introduction "*De Divina Quaternitate*," was yet right when saying that this wisdom had come down from the "*patres Graecorum.*" The tradition was not confined to the theory of the *quadrivium* either. This much may be gathered from the interesting remarks on the four deities of fire and on the creation of the four elements from nought found in the anonymous commentary on Prudentius Adversus Symmachum ascribed by some to John Scotus Eriugena.[45]

[41] Felix, cf. Paulin. op. cit. col. 391 sq. Hincmar, Mon. Germ. Script. Merov. 3, 276, 22 sq. Legal documents, Du Cange s.v. *quadratus orbis*; *quadrifidus orbis*. Inventio Quintini, Mon. Germ. Poet. Carol. 4, 2, 1000.

[42] Cf. Vulfin. Carm. de Marc. Mon. Germ. Poet. Carol. 4.2, 970 l.189 sq.,

"*. . . quadrati climate mundi*
semina missurus. . . ."

and Thiofrid Vita Willebrordi 1.18; 3.45; Hraban. Maur. Cler. Inst. 3.22. M. Lat. 107, 400.

[43] Vita Niv. 5 Mon. Germ. Scrip. Merov. 5, 163, 3 sq. Flodoard, Mon. Germ. fol. Script. 13, 566, 37 sq. Cardinal vices, Hraban. Maur. in Genes. 2. 15 M. Lat. 107, 539.

[44] M. Grabmann, Scholast. Methode 1, 177; 180 sq.

[45] Rodulfus Glaber, Mon. Germ. fol. Scr. 7, 51. Representative are the following words, line 33 sq., "*quatuor sunt ergo Evangelia quae constituunt in nostris mentibus*

In this connection an allegorical interpretation of Ez. 40. 42 se by Gregory the Great became important. He compares the squar stones of the four altars for burnt offerings in front of the heavenl temple with the saints:

> What then do we take the square stones for, if not for Saints, whose live were firmly established in prosperity and adversity; for a square stone stanc straight upon whichever side it is turned. Thus whosoever does not boast i prosperity nor break in adversity, is a square stone.

Gregory is aware of the implications of his simile, for he follows u his remark just cited by the following:

> These tables are made of square stones, for as the words of sacred speec are the subject of daily meditation in their hearts, when offering to th Lord the holocaust of prayer, they are built up from square stones. . . .[46]

Similar ideas are expressed by the Venerable Bede,[47] so that i may be assumed that they were not unpopular in England. The sayings of Gregory were also familiar to scholars of the post-Carlo vingian renaissance, and Hrabanus Maurus copied the first literally in his commentary on Ezekiel.[48] It is a particularly topical use made of the concept, when Eadmer turns it into a eulogy of Gregory himself, and the parallels mentioned by W. R. Southern in the article from which our essay started show that the other pupils of St. Anselm were also in line with Gregory.

VIII

A short comment may be permitted on the lesson which modern theology may draw from the developments outlined in this study. It is not that the Fathers of the Church would have been better advised if they had abstained from the dangerous enterprise of expressing the Christian message with the help of references to their contemporary convictions. This is the only way in which the message can be delivered and received. It should, however, make us aware our-

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supernum mundum. Tot enim constant elementa quae perficiunt istum infirmum. Quatuor quoque virtutes . . . quatuor sensus existunt corporis, praeter tactum. . . ." Comm. Anon. in Prud. 2. 972; 973 ed. Burnam p. 178 sq.

[46] Greg. in Ez. 2.9.5; 8 M. Lat. 76, 1044.

[47] Comm. in Ps. 86; Templ. Salom. 4; Hexaem. 2 M. Lat. 91, 744; 81.

[48] Hraban. Maur. in Ez. 40. 42 M. Lat. 110, 951, cf. also Peter Damiani Ep. 2.5 ed. Cajetani 1, 61, who claims that the saints form the throne from which God pronounces His edicts of Justice.

lves that the category of truth which applies in the field of human ientific research is different from the eternal truth of God.

Future times may find some reason to use the influence of scientific heories of our days upon contemporary theology as an equally in- ructive example of the proclamation of the absolute truth of God terms and conceptions belonging to the field of relative truth. his emphasizes the need for the continuous examination of the alidity of dogmatic interpretation of Holy Scripture, for the dog- natic interpretation in particular has the task of expressing the Christian message in contemporary thought-forms. It warns us, on he other hand, against rejecting the truth of Scriptural statements ecause of their contradictions with the tenets of modern science. In his respect the Fathers are the greatest models of discretion.

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A CODEX OF JONAH: BERL. SEPT. 18 + P.S.I. X, 1164

In 1932 Vitelli and Norsa published a substantial fragment of the Greek Jonah, the remains of a parchment codex,[1] consisting of the final leaf of an initial quaternion and two other complete quaternions, in all seventeen consecutive folios or thirty-four pages.[2] The text covers 1.11b–4.10a. The fourteen missing pages of the first quaternion and five additional pages beyond the present end of the codex would suffice to complete the text. The quaternions are so arranged that each begins and ends with a recto, and within the quaternion verso always confronts verso, recto always confronts recto. Each page bears one column of ten lines, and the lines contain as few as six and as many as fourteen letters, but commonly eight to eleven letters.[3] Vitelli and Norsa give the size of the columns as 4 × 4.5 cm., but this is probably a mean estimate since a measurement taken on the facsimile yields 4 × 4.8 cm. for the columns of writing on pp. 12 and 13 of the third quaternion. The codex is 5.5 cm. broad and 6 cm. high. The unusually small format is noteworthy.[4] The editors have assigned the manuscript to the fourth century A.D. It was acquired by purchase and its provenience is unknown.

In 1936 a single leaf of a small parchment codex, likewise of unknown origin, was purchased by the Berlin Museum, and this was published by Stegmüller in 1939 without any reference to the Jonah codex edited by Vitelli and Norsa in 1932, although the Berlin fragment contains Jonah 1.10b–11b.[5] Like the opening columns of the Italian codex, it is seriously damaged at the top. Since the text runs from the recto on to the verso, the editor has established a loss of four lines, and this conclusion results in a column of ten lines, again as in the Italian manuscript. Of the lines as printed, two have seven letters, six have eight, and four have nine; this calculation falls nicely

[1] Jonah is preserved entire in a papyrus codex of the 3rd cent. A.D. published by Sanders, Minor Prophets, Mich. Stud., Human. Ser., 21, 1927.

[2] P(ubblicazioni della) S(ocietà) I(taliana), Papiri greci e latini, 10, 1164, facs. pl. 1.

[3] Ibid.: "una media di dieci lettere per rigo."

[4] Ibid.: "Non ci sovviene di codici membranacei di formato altrettanto piccolo." For codices almost as small see Stegmüller, Berl(iner) Sept(uagintafragmente), Berl. Klassikertexte, 8, 1939, p. 66; Worrell, Coptic Mss., Mich. Stud., Human. Ser., 10, 1923, xi ff.; Husselman, Coptic Texts, Mich. Stud., Human. Ser., 46, 1942, p. 7.

[5] Stegmüller, Berl. Sept. 18.

within the average fixed for the Italian codex. The size of the columns is estimated at 4 × 5 cm., and inasmuch as the estimate rests on a reconstruction, it compares favorably with the measurement of 4 × 4.5 cm. given by Vitelli and Norsa. No facsimile has been provided, but Stegmüller notes that the hand of his fragment has a close resemblance [6] to Vat. Graec. 1288, saec. V.[7] If the latter is compared with the facsimile supplied by Vitelli and Norsa, the hands of the Jonah manuscripts are seen to be remarkably alike. Although a photograph of the Berlin leaf cannot now be procured on account of the war, the number of characteristic features shared by the manuscripts supports the inference that their hands are in fact identical.

This brief description of P.S.I. X, 1164 and Berl. Sept. 18 emphasizes the points of contact between them. A tabular summary may be useful.

	1164	18
1.	Purchased	Purchased
2.	Provenience unknown	Provenience unknown
3.	Parchment	Parchment
4.	Page: 5.5 × 6 cm.	
5.	Column: 4 × 4.5 cm. (4 × 4.8 cm.)	4 × 5 cm.
	10 lines	10 lines
6.	Line: extreme limits, 6–14 letters	
	common limits, 8–11 letters	7–9 letters
7.	Date: 4th cent.	5th cent.

The small discrepancy in the reports concerning the size of columns has been explained above. Stegmüller cannot be cited for the size of the page. Doubtless impressed by the extraordinarily small columns, but seemingly without any supporting evidence, he assumes two columns to the page and so arrives at a format of 8 × 12 cm. or 7 × 13 cm.[8] His figures for the height of the page, 7 or 8 cm., simply overestimate the upper and lower margins, and this is quite understandable since the upper margin is lost and very little of the lower margin remains.[9] His estimate of the breadth of the page, 12 or 13 cm., need only be halved to accord with the statement of Vitelli and Norsa. The disagreement regarding the date is not serious. An error of a century in dating literary or book hands is an experience that few

[6] Ibid.: "sehr viel Ähnlichkeit."

[7] Cavalieri and Lietzmann, Specim. cod. graec., 1910, pl. 2.

[8] Berl. Sept., pp. 55, 66.

[9] Ibid., p. 55: "unten ein wenig vom Rand erhalten scheint."

paeographers can have missed. Stegmüller accepted the fifth century as the date of his fragment on the basis of a comparison with t. Graec. 1288, and this probably means that if he and the Italian tors had conferred they might have compromised on the late arth century for both manuscripts without loss of scientific value.[10] There remains a final coincidence which seems to me to be conclue, especially in view of the preceding discussion. The Berlin leaf gins in chap. 1.10 and continues into 1.11. At the exact point here it breaks off the Italian fragment takes up. What makes the n particularly convincing is that this break comes not between ords but actually within a word. Furthermore, if Berl. Sept. 18 is ven this position in relation to P.S.I. X, 1164, the order of recto d verso is exactly right for the quaternion. The second page of the erlin leaf and the first page of the longer fragment are repeated here order to clinch the demonstration. The obvious and certain resrations are borrowed from the editors. For the sake of smoothess, and without prejudice to textual problems, I have filled all her lacunae and introduced accents and punctuation from the naller Cambridge Septuagint.[11]

Berl. Sept. 18 verso		P.S.I. X, 1164 verso	
[καὶ εἶπαν]	1.11	ξή[γειρεν]	
[πρὸς αὐ-]		μᾶ[λλον κλύ-]	
[τόν Τί σοι]		δωνᾳ. [καὶ]	1.12
[ποιήσομεν,]		εἶπεν [Ἰωνᾶς]	
[κ]αὶ κοπά-		πρὸς αὐτού[ς]	
ση ἡ θάλα[σ-]		Ἄρατέ με κ[αὶ ἐμ-][14]	
σα ἀφ' ἡμῶ[ν;]		βάλεται [15] εἰς	
ὅτι ἡ θάλασ-		τὴν θάλασ-	
σα ἐπωρε[ύ-]		[σ]αν, καὶ κοπ[ά-]	
ετο[12] καὶ ἐ-[13]		[σ]ει ἡ θάλασ[σα]	

[10] Sanders suggests late 4th–early 5th as a possible date for both fragments.

[11] Swete, Old Testament in Greek, 4th ed.

[12] Read ἐπορεύετο.

[13] ε[ξ] Stegmüller, but the restoration is unnecessary if Vitelli and Norsa read correctly the first doubtful traces in their manuscript.

[14] Vitelli and Norsa indicate a lacuna of only 2 letters, and εμ may have been omitted.

[15] Read βάλετε.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

BRINGING OUR WORLD TOGETHER; A STUDY IN WORLD COMMUNITY. *By Daniel Johnson Fleming.* New York, Scribner, 1945. xii, 155 p. $2.00

DOCUMENTS OF DYING PAGANISM; TEXTILES OF LATE ANTIQUITY IN WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, AND LENINGRAD. *By Paul Friedländer.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1945. 66 p. $1.50.

EPICUREANISM AND CHRISTIANITY. *By Norman W. DeWitt.* Reprinted from the University of Toronto Quarterly Vol. XIV, No. 3, April, 1945, pp. 250–255. [n.p.]

EXPERIENCE WORKETH HOPE; BEING SOME THOUGHTS FOR A TROUBLED DAY. *By Arthur John Gossip.* New York, Scribner, 1945. 200 p. $2.00.

A HISTORY OF UNITARIANISM; SOCINIANISM AND ITS ANTECEDENTS. *By Earl Morse Wilbur.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945. xiii, 617 p. $6.00.

THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES. *By Herbert Hewitt Stroup.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1945. vii, 180 p. $2.50.

OAKS AND ACORNS; ADDRESSES TO YOUTH AND THEIR ELDERS BASED ON PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS. *By Aaron Kahan.* New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1945. xvii, 197 p. $2.00.

SUBSTANDARD WAGES; AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR EXTENT AND EFFECT, AND WHAT MUST BE DONE TO ESTABLISH A HIGHER WAGE LEVEL. *Design and presentation by Abraham Joel Tobias.* Prepared in co-operation with Textile Workers Union of America, C.I.O. [Washington, D. C.] Department of research and education, Congress of Industrial Organizations [1945] [n.p.] $.15.

THEY FOUND THE CHURCH THERE; THE ARMED FORCES DISCOVER CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. *By Henry P. Van Dusen.* New York, Scribner, 1945. xii, 148 p. $1.75.

THOMISTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1920–1940. *By Vernon J. Bourke.* St. Louis, Missouri, The Modern Schoolman, Supplement to Vol. XXI, 1945. viii, 312 p. $3.00.

Conservation of Scholarly Journals

The American Library Association created this last year the ommittee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John . Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The ommittee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes iat American scholars and scientists will be of considerable id in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after he first World War was that of completing foreign institutional ets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. he attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the oncern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability f the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible hey will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purhased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken hrough mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other ets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The ize of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made o collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific ournals, the Committee hopes to enlist the coöperation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

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